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POETS AS HEROES OF EPIC AND DRAMATIC WORKS IN GERMAN LITERATURE

Since the publication of the first treatise on this theme,¹ the writer has been convinced of its possibilities far beyond initial expectation, for the following reasons: Further investigation has strengthened his belief that the poetization of poets, to say nothing of the discussion of poets in pure literature, is more peculiar to German² than to the other great literatures; the attitude of those who have investigated literary dramas and novels on individual poets has, in several instances, been one of thinly veiled skepticism.³ This, it seems to the writer, is unjustified, at least so far as the novels are concerned. And research and inquiry have revealed the fact that works of this sort are much more numerous⁴ in German than one

¹ *Modern Philology*, XII, 65-99.

² Though fully realizing the danger of coming to any conclusion from a single instance, it is nevertheless interesting to compare Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* (1852), which is always referred to as a "literary" novel, with Rudolf Herzog's *Die Wiskottens* (1906), of which one never thinks in this connection. But we learn very little about Addison and Steele and their contemporaries in Thackeray, while Herzog, though writing a modern, realistic novel on the poetry of work and the beauty of family solidarity, discusses Jean Paul, Fritz Reuter, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Freiligrath, Horace, Ovid, Mörike, Plato, Shakespeare, and the *Nibelungen Lied* from various points of view and introduces one fictitious poet, Herr Korten. Artists are likewise introduced in the third person: Van Dyck, Rubens, Rembrandt, Dürer, Lenbach, Defregger, Böcklin, Feuerbach, and Makart, and one fictitious artist, Herr Weert. In short, *Die Wiskottens* is as much of a "literary" novel as is *Henry Esmond*, though no one would think of including the former in this list, despite the inclusion of the literary novels of Tieck, Eichendorff, and others.

³ Cf. *Ulrich von Hutten in der deutschen Literatur*. By Georg Voigt, Leipzig, 1910, p. 74: "Das Ringen mit dem Stoff, das aus all den verschiedenen Dichtungen spricht, ist äusserst interessant zu beobachten; ob es jemals zu einem nach jeder Richtung befriedigenden Ergebnis führen wird, ist fraglich." The titles on Hutten in this article, incidentally, were taken largely from Voigt. Had his list been complete, there would have been but little point in noting all the works on Hutten; but the writer found some not included in Voigt, hence the tabulation below.

⁴ Cf. *Heinrich von Ofterdingen in der deutschen Literatur*. By Paul Riesenfeld, Berlin, 1912, p. 1: "Wie in den beiden letzten Jahrhunderten Tasso und die Sappho, mehrmals Hans Sachs und der junge Schiller, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Narciss Rameau, Mozart, Beethoven, Liszt, Correggio, Michelangelo, Rafael und manche andere Wort- und Tondichter und bildende Künstler zu 'Helden' von Schauspielen, Opern, Novellen u. s. w. wurden," etc. From this it seems that Riesenfeld, though the author of a monograph of 359 pages on this very theme, is unaware of a host of literary novels and dramas in German literature. And to this, by way of confirmation, might be added the article by Wilhelm Bölsche, on "Der historische Roman," in *Kritisches Jahrbuch*, 1. Jahrg., 1. Heft, pp. 13-27. All sorts of historical novels and dramas are mentioned, but not a word about those that have poets as heroes.

would be inclined to believe before giving the matter special consideration. In order, therefore, to make the subject a real and enduring contribution and to eliminate everything that makes it seem somewhat like a curiosity, the following titles, not included in the previous article because then unknown, are subjoined, and a few additional phases of the matter are touched upon. That the bibliography, as it here stands, is incomplete¹ is to be taken for granted; and as to exhausting the theme itself—that must be reserved for a separate monograph.

One phase of the matter that calls for immediate attention is the relation of truth to poetry. Based as all such works are on historical characters that have written poetry, there are those who will demand truth in them. But they will be reasonably disappointed, for absolute truth here as elsewhere, and especially here, is unobtainable. When Tieck, for example, wrote his *Vittoria Accorombona*, he voluntarily assumed a threefold obligation: to record the real facts of his heroine's life, to deduce her character from these facts, and to give a just estimate of her poetry. Now we all know how difficult it is to determine the mere *Realien* of men's lives. Biographers keep on writing biographies of favorite poets partly to refute the statements of their predecessors—and to make statements to be refuted by their successors.² Think of the monographs that try to prove, by way of illustration, that a certain poet was in a certain place at a certain time, and not somewhere else as someone else has said!³

¹ The writer would be deeply gratified if opportunity were afforded him to learn of any more such works in German. Since the title very frequently does not reveal the names of the characters, it is impossible to know, without reading it, whether the work introduces poets in the first person, and no one can read all of German literature. Just now the writer is indebted to Professor F. W. J. Heuser, Dr. Juliana S. Haskell, and Dr. Gottlieb Betz, his Columbia colleagues, and to Professor Camillo von Klenze, of Brown University, for a number of titles. Dr. Betz also read the manuscript of the first article and made a number of suggestions as to how the matter might be approached.

² A case in point is H. S. Chamberlain's *Goethe*, where we are told (p. 22), contrary to Goethe himself and his previous biographers, that Goethe did not derive his "Frohnatur" from his mother and his "Lebens ernstes Führen" from his father. Chamberlain says: "Diese Worte können unmöglich buchstäblich gemeint sein. Goethe ist keine Frohnatur." If an individual were to defend this thesis in a novel on Goethe, the practical-minded reader would be perturbed. Has Chamberlain stated the truth?

³ This remark was inspired, in a way, by an article of twenty-nine pages in the September, 1914, number of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, on "Kleist at Boulogne-sur-Mer," by Mr. John William Scholl. Mr. Scholl states that Kleist's biographers, from Tieck (1821) to Herzog (1911), have had difficulty with this problem, and that the earlier biographers are more satisfactory than the recent ones. How can the truth be obtained in the case of the poet, who, more than any other mortal,

To weigh poets' characters is out of the question, for there is no absolute standard. Think of the differences of opinion that still whirl around the personalities of Goethe and Heine and Nietzsche! And as to determining the ultimate value of poetry by the amount of truth that it contains, that can and should be undertaken only by those who feel poetry, who experience it, and who therefore feel that poetry *is* truth.

The whole situation is about as follows: The reliable historian, the impartial biographer, the erudite investigator, and the judicial critic may think profoundly and feel beautifully, but they can express themselves only accurately. The real poet not only thinks deeply and feels beautifully, but he also expresses beautifully that which he has thought and that which he has felt.¹ And beauty *is* truth, for it is a happy amalgamation of taste, symmetry, harmony, and imagination, and a number of other difficult virtues in which biographies, even autobiographies, do not always abound. If, therefore, the individual who reads the following novels and dramas on poets does not thereby obtain huge stores of more or less accurate information *à la* Düntzer, Bartels, and Goedeke, and their helpful kind, it will be more because the poets in question lacked the ability to express themselves beautifully than because they made a slip as to a date or the proper name of a person or place. There is proportionately as much truth in Elise Polko's *Märchen* on Simon Dach as there is in Salkowski's scholarly, and let us hope accurate, monograph on the same poet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1250—Konrad von Würzburg: *Der Welt Lohn, eine allegorische Märe*. The hero is Wirnt von Gravenberg, the author of "Wigalois."

1602—Jakob Ayrer: *Comedischer Prozess*. Hans Sachs is an important character.

lives unto himself? And how can we get at the facts in the case of a poet so secretive as Kleist? The writer would, however, naturally refer a student to Herzog rather than to a drama or novel on Kleist, if the student wanted information, largely because Herzog would contain more information, not because Herzog is supposed to be accurate whereas the dramatist or novelist is supposed to be inaccurate.

¹ Though the writer has never been able to become enthusiastic about Geibel, this idea is taken from his *Kleinigkeiten* (*Emanuel Geibels gesammelte Werke*, Bd. 8, Seite 76, 3te Aufl.):

Tief zu denken und schön zu empfinden ist vielen gegeben;
Dichter ist nur, wer schön sagt, was er dacht' und empfand.

- 1627—Martin Opitz: *Dafne, ein Schäferspiel in fünf Akten*. Ovid begins the play with a prologue.
- 1673—Anonymous: *Der pedantische Irrtum, ein Drama*. Hans Sachs begins the drama, but does not appear again.
- 1756—Anonymous: *Comoedi in der Comoedi, oder Hans Sachs Schulmeister zu Narrnhausen vor seinem König eine Comödie von Doktor Faust exhibierend*.
- 1787—Fr. Karl Lang: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Gedicht in drei Gesängen*.
- 1798—Tieck: *Prinz Zerbino, ein deutsches Lustspiel in sechs Aufzügen*. The poet-characters of the fifth act are Dante, Ariost, Gozzi, Tasso, Cervantes, Hans Sachs, Goethe, Sophokles, Shakespeare, Petrarca. Of these, Goethe, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Dante are regarded as the "heilige Vier."
- 1805—Fouqué: *Schillers Totenfeier, eine Gewittersymphonie*. The characters are Schiller, ein Räuber, Fiesko, Ferdinand, Carlos, Wallenstein, Maria Stuart, die Jungfrau, die Mutter der Braut von Messina, Tell, and der Knabe. Bernhardt helped in the writing.
- 1808—Ferd. Aug. Otto Heinrich Graf von Loeben: *Guido, ein Roman von "Isidorus Orientalis,"* the pen-name of Loeben. Frauenlob is an important character. A little later, Loeben planned a novel on Heinrich von Veldeke; nothing was ever done on it beyond the outline.¹
- 1815—Eichendorff: *Ahnung und Gegenwart, ein Roman*. Eichendorff does not introduce poets in the first person, but, aside from discussing numerous general literary works, folksongs, fairy tales, sagas, and the like, he has his fictitious characters comment on the works of Abraham a. Sta. Clara, Arnim, Campe, Cervantes, Claudius, Goethe, Grimms-hausen, Jean Paul, Kotzebue, Rousseau, Schiller, Shakespeare, Tasso, Usteri, Zacharias Werner, and Zschokke. Other writers are satirized in an indirect way, especially A. H. J. Lafontaine, Graf von Loeben, and Brentano. The influence of Cervantes' *magnum opus* on Eichendorff in this work has been abundantly proved. In short, *Ahnung und Gegenwart* is very largely a literary novel, though the speaking characters are fictitious.
- 1817—Graf von Loeben: *Ferdusi*. This is a narrative poem in two parts.
- 1819—Goethe: *West-östlicher Divan*. Introduces, in a veiled way, Firdusi, Hafis, Mahomet.
- 1820—Friedrich Furchau: *Hans Sachs, ein Roman*.
- 1828—Chr. Ernst K. Graf von Benzel-Sternau: *Ulrich von Hutten zu Fulda, oder was eine Nessel werden will, brennt bei Zeiten, ein Drama*.
- 1830—F. W. Gubitz: *Hans Sachs oder Dürers Festabend, ein dramatisches Gemälde*. The date is only calculated.

¹ Cf. Raimund Pissin: *Otto Heinrich Graf von Loeben, sein Leben und seine Werke*, p. 172.

- 1831—Adalbert Gyrowetz: *Hans Sachs im vorgerückten Alter, eine Oper*. "Der Librettist ist nicht bekannt."—Baberadt.¹
- 1831—Caroline Pichler: *Friedrich der Streitbare, ein Roman*. Klingsohr, Walter von der Vogelweide, and Heinrich von Ofterdingen are important speaking characters. There are 974 pages in this work. This superprolific poetess also wrote a novel on Mlle de Scudéry.
- 1832—Wilhelmine Sostmann-Blumenhagen: *Peter Vischer, romantisch-dramatisches Gemälde aus der Vorzeit Nürnbergs*. Hans Sachs is a secondary character.
- 1833—Ed. Duller: *Franz von Sickingen, ein dramatisches Gedicht*. Ulrich von Hutten plays a part.
- 1833—Leopold Schefer: *Viktoria Accoramboni, eine Novelle*.
- 1835—Theodor Mundt: *Charlotte Stieglitz. Ein Denkmal*. "Vielleicht der ergreifendste Roman, der seit Werther geschrieben und geschehen ist."—Gutzkow.
- 1836—Tieck: *Der junge Tischlermeister, Novelle in sieben Abschnitten*. Any reader of this long novelette will recall how, after an excellent beginning, Tieck weakens the general effect by having his fictitious characters discuss in detail the works of Goethe, Opitz, Gryphius, Horace, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Schiller, and others, and many musicians. Tieck, of course, speaks through his characters, but their observations, though suggestive, belong more properly in histories of literary criticism and music. Poets are not introduced in the first person.
- 1837—Immermann: *Ghismonda, dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Aufzügen*. Guarini plays an unimportant part. The drama is based on Boccaccio's first story of the fourth day in the "Decameron."
- 1837—Georg Büchner: *Reinhold Lenz, eine Novelle* (Fragment).
- 1839—Berthold Auerbach: *Dichter und Kaufmann, ein Roman*. Lessing is an important speaking character; Gleim, Ramler, and other poets of the time are also introduced in the first person.
- 1839—Ad. Pichler: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama* (Fragment).
- 1840—Karoline Leonhard-Lyser: *Meister Albrecht Dürer, ein Drama in vier Aufzügen*. Hans Sachs plays a minor rôle.
- 1840—Philipp Reger: *Hans Sachs, eine Oper in drei Aufzügen*. Set to music by Lortzing.
- 1840—Tieck: *Vittoria Accorambona, ein Roman*. The title-heroine was a poetess. Tasso is also an important character, while other Italian poets of the time are introduced in minor rôles or discussed. In his preface Tieck wrote: "Schon vor vielen Jahren fiel mir der Name dieser Dichterin . . . als merkwürdig auf. Es war im Jahre 1792, als ich in Dodsley's Collections of Old Plays zuerst die Tragödie Websters las: *The*

¹ Cf. *Hans Sachs im Andenken der Nachwelt*. By Friedrich Baberadt, Halle, 1906, 74 pp. (Gekrönte Preisschrift). This study lists nearly all of the dramas on Hans Sachs contained in the writer's bibliography.

White Devil, or Vittoria Corombona. Dieses Schauspiel wurde 1612 in London gedruckt und auch damals oft gespielt." Tieck then says that he wrote the novel, not only because of the excellence of the theme, but also to vindicate his heroine, who had been unjustly calumniated by her biographers, and unduly blackened by Webster. It is not without interest in this connection that Webster, too, wrote a drama on another poet: *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*. With this drama Tieck was, of course, familiar. In 1818, H. J. König published a tragedy entitled *Wyatt*, dealing, it seems, with Sir Thomas Wyatt. The work was unobtainable.

- 1842—Heine: *Atta Troll*. Heine does not, to be sure, introduce poets as "speaking" characters in this work; but he makes his sort of poetry out of the following and their works: Freiligrath, Franz Horn, Gustav Pfizer, Goethe, Justinus Kerner, Varnhagen von Ense, Chamisso, Fouqué, and a number of others. And the same is true of *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*.
- 1843—Rudolf von Gottschall: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1843—Ernst Georg von Brunnov: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein historischer Roman*.
- 1845—A. E. Fröhlich: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Epos*.
- 1845—Ed. Hobein: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama*. "Künstlerisch ist das Drama völlig wertlos. Es ist nur interessant als Ausdruck der ganzen Zeitrichtung, die all ihre Sehnsucht in dem Namen Hutten zusammenfasst."—G. Voigt.
- 1846—Hans Köster: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein historisches Trauerspiel*. In 1865, Köster published another drama on Hutten, dedicated to German students.
- 1848—G. Logau: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama*. This drama is listed in Voigt's dissertation. Nothing is said as to the personality or life of Logau.
- 1849—Th. Adalbert Schröder and Fr. Schmezer: *Ulrich von Hutten, eine Oper*. The libretto for an opera by Alexander Fesca.
- 1850—Adolf Bäuerle: *Ferdinand Raimund, ein Volksroman*. The date is only calculated. Bäuerle lived from 1786 to 1859.
- 1850—Max Ring: *Scarron's Liebe, Original-Lustspiel in einem Akt*. On Paul Scarron (1610–1660) and his wife Françoise d'Aubigné.
- 1851—Ernst Ulrich: *Ulrich von Hutten; oder, Revolution und Reformation, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*. "Ernst Ulrich" is the pen-name of E. Stähelin. "Das Drama ist ausgezeichnet aufgebaut."—G. Voigt.
- 1853—Leopold Schefer: *Hafis in Hellas, Gedichte*. Other works of Schefer introduce or discuss poets and their poetry.
- 1853—Arnold Ruge: *Die neue Welt, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen, mit einem Vorspiel: Goethes Ankunft in Walkalla*. The characters of the prelude are Iphigenes, Schiller, Hegel, Schelling, Joseph und Guido Görres, Chor der alten Garde, Reimer und Rierner aus Weimar, Goethe, Heinrich Mephison, Chor des Gesindels, Platen.

- 1854—E. A. Hagen: *Norica, Novellensammlung*. Hans Sachs is an important character. According to Bartels (p. 468), the collection appeared at Breslau in 1829.
- 1855—Otto Roquette: *Hans Haidekuckkuck, eine erzählende Dichtung*. Hans Sachs is a secondary character.
- 1855—Hermann Kurz: *Der Sonnenwirt, ein Drama* (Fragment). "Steht zu Schiller in Beziehung."—W. Wackernagel.
- 1856—Gutzkow: *Was sich der Buchladen erzählt, ein Märchen*. Does not introduce poets in person, but their works are made to speak. H. C. Andersen, Gustav zu Putlitz, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Jean Paul, Platen, Heine, and others are represented. It is hardly necessary to state that there runs through the majority of Gutzkow's works this tendency to introduce poets; with him it was always, when this was done, a matter of *Tendenzliteratur*.
- 1861—Carl Nissel: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1862—Arnold Schloenbach: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein vaterländisches Gedicht in zwanzig Liedern*. Introduces a number of comic and humorous elements.
- 1862—J. L. Klein: *Voltaire, ein Lustspiel*.
- 1864—Carl Berger: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1865—K. T. Pyl: *Albrecht Dürer, ein Drama*. Hans Sachs is an important character.
- 1865—Karl Albert Türcke: *Hutten auf Ufnau, ein Idyll in sieben Gesängen*.
- 1867—W. H. Riehl: *Abendfrieden, eine Novelle als Vorrede*. Introduces Walter Scott in person, though he does not speak; he is poetized primarily as the author of *Guy Mannering*. For the purposes of this theme, Riehl is a veritable storehouse. Many of his "Kulturgeschichtliche Novellen" are based on poets, their lives, their works, their place in the progress of civilization. Lack of space and the right to presuppose familiarity with his short stories forbid the listing of all of them here.
- 1869—A. E. Brachvogel: *Die Harfenschule, ein Drama*. Beaumarchais is an important character.
- 1870—Hermann Ethe: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein historisches Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1873—Karl Oskar Teuber: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein dramatisches Gemälde in fünf Aufzügen*.
- 1873—Max Ring: *Carl Sand und seine Freunde, ein Roman*. Mentions Kotzebue and introduces Goethe.
- 1874—Martin Greif: *Walthers Rückkehr in die Heimat, ein Drama*. On Walter von der Vogelweide.
- 1875—Wilbrandt: *Fridolins heimliche Ehe, eine Erzählung*. On Friedrich Eggers, author of *Platt-deutsche Gedichte*, and criticisms on art.
- 1875—Ad. Wechsler: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Trauerspiel*.
- 1877—Jovialis: *Hans Sachs, ein Lustspiel*. It is probable that "Jovialis" is Moritz Rapp.

- 1878—Gottfried Keller: *Hadlaub, Züricher Novelle*. Treats of the origin of the "Manessesche Handschrift." The real hero is Hadlaub, the author of the poems of unrequited love. Other poets of the time are referred to or quoted.
- 1878—Gottfried Keller: *Der Landvogt von Greifensee, Züricher Novelle*. Introduces, in the third person, Bodmer, Breitinger, Gessner, and other poets of the time. Of Bodmer, Keller says: "Als Litterator und Geschmacksreiner bereits überlebt, als Bürger, Politiker und Sittenlehrer ein so weiser, erleuchteter und freisinniger Mann, wie es wenige gab und jetzt gar nicht giebt." His opinion of Gessner is equally favorable: "Gessners idyllische Dichtungen sind durchaus keine schwächlichen und nichtssagenden Gebilde, sondern innerhalb ihrer Zeit, über die keiner hinaus kann, der nicht ein Heros ist, fertige und stilvolle kleine Kunstwerke."
- 1878—Julius Lohmeyer: *Albrecht Dürer, ein Künstlerfestspiel*. Hans Sachs is an unimportant character.
- 1884—C. F. Meyer: *Hochzeit des Mönchs, eine Novelle*. Dante tells the story.
- 1884—O. F. Gensichen: *Lydia, Plauderei in einem Akt*. Horace is the hero.
- 1884—Ulrich Farnet: *Ufnau, ein Roman*. "Fraglich ob Hutten der Held ist."—G. Voigt.
- 1885—Wilhelm Henzen: *Ossian, ein Drama*. The date is only calculated.
- 1886—Max Hobrecht: *Hutten in Rostock, eine Erzählung*.
- 1887—W. Reisinger: *Hans Sachs im Schlaraffenland, komisches Ballet in einem Akt*. Set to music by Karl Flinsch.
- 1887—Manfred Wittich: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Reformationsfestspiel*.
- 1888—Joh. Otto Jacobi: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Säkular drama*.
- 1888—August Bungert: *Hutten und Sickingen, ein Festspiel*.
- 1888—Ludwig Seeger: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Schauspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1888—Karl Liebreich: *Heinrich von Kleist, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1889—Carl Preser: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Heldengedicht*.
- 1890—Elise Polko: *Musikalische Märchen, Phantasieen und Skizzen*. This work is in two volumes, the first containing thirty-three tales, the second twenty-two. This is the twenty-second edition of the first volume and the twelfth of the second. There is scarcely a musician of note who does not appear in the first person, and an almost equally large number of poets. There would be no point in listing all the poets who "speak" in these tales. The portrayals are, as the title would indicate, naïve but interesting, and in some instances most true to life as we know these poets from history. The portrayals of such poets as Gellert and Dach are better than those of men like Goethe and Schiller. The same author has also written two volumes of *Künstlermärchen*. Polko's tales are interesting in that they make poets the characters of fairy tales.

- 1891—C. Schultes: "*Solus cum Sola!*" oder: *William's Sturmjahre. Original-Shakespeare-Roman*. Tries to fill out the gap in Shakespeare's life from 1585 to 1589.
- 1892—Wilbrandt: *Herman Ifinger, ein Roman*. On Makart and Graf Schack.
- 1893—John Brinckmann: *Die Osterglocken und die Tochter Shakespeares, eine erzählende Dichtung*.
- 1893—Michael Albert: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1893—Carl Wilhelm Marschner: *Ich hab's gewagt, ein Drama*. On Ulrich von Hutten.
- 1894—G. Burchard: *Hans Sachs, Festspiel in einem Aufzug*.
- 1894—Rudolph Genée: *Hans Sachs, Festspiel in zwei Abteilungen*.
- 1894—E. A. Gutjahr and F. A. Geissler: *Hans Sachs in Leipzig, ein Festspiel*. Set to music by F. Th. Cursch-Bühren.
- 1894—Ernst Hermann: *Hans Sachsens Herbstglück, eine dramatische Scene*.
- 1894—L. F. Meissner: *Hans Sachsens Werbung, ein Weihnachtsspiel*.¹
- 1896—Karl Weitbrecht: *Doktor Schmidt, Lustspiel in drei Akten*. Schiller is the hero; Streicher and Iffland play important rôles.
- 1896—Julius Riffert: *Huttens erste Tage, ein Schauspiel in einem Akt*.
- 1897—Karl Weiser: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama*.
- 1899—H. Drees: *Hans Sachs, Festspiel in vier Bildern*.
- 1900—Wildenbruch: *Die Tochter des Erasmus, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*. Ulrich von Hutten is the hero. "Luther erscheint nicht handelnd in dem Stück und doch ist er überall da."
- 1900—Paul Fleischer: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Tragödie*.
- 1900—Heinrich Jantsch: *Ferdinand Raimund, ein Volksstück*. The date is calculated; Jantsch was born in 1845.
- 1904—Joh. Streckenbach: *Hutten. Ein fränkischer Edelmann im Kampfe mit Rom, ein Trauerspiel*.
- 1909—Johanna Presler-Flohr: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Aufzügen*.
- 1910—Paul Schreckenbach: *Der getreue Kleist, ein Roman*. On Ewald von Kleist.
- 1913—J. A. Lux: *Grillparzers Liebesroman. Die Schwestern Fröhlich*. The novel may have appeared a year or two earlier. In a discussion of it and Lux's "*Lola Montez*," in the *Eichendorff-Kalender für das Jahr 1914*, Wilhelm Kosch comments upon the popularity of literary novels in the present and says that they are far superior to those of Luise Mühlbach and her time. Both of these works were unobtainable. It is hardly possible that "*Lola Montez*" does not also introduce some of the poets of München of the late forties.
- 1914—Felix Poppenberg: *Maskenzüge*. The second section is on Hermann Fürst Pückler-Muskau. This too is reviewed in the *Eichendorff-Kalender* by Kosch.

¹ Hans Sachs was born in 1494, hence the dramas on him in 1894, and Hutten was born in 1488.

One of the first things to be noted on a study of this and the previous list of literary dramas and novels is the number of men who have written such works, though no one thinks of them primarily as poets. We think of Stern, Bartels, and Klein, not as poets, but as literary historians; yet each of them has written creative works, and each of them was drawn into writing epic or dramatic poetry by his prolonged study of poets. There are, at the same time, very few important German poets who have not also written one or more historical or critical works—Eichendorff, Riehl, Freytag, by way of example. It is indeed exceedingly difficult to find pure types in this respect. Heinrich Düntzer was only a student of literature, Lenau was only a poet, but there are not many such instances. And in this study only those works are included that make real poets speaking characters. The adoption of any other method would lead to endless confusion. Mary Queen of Scots wrote poems that have been published,¹ but she was only a queen. Novels and dramas on her could not therefore be included. All novels and dramas, however, that poetize real poets are included, whether written by *Dichter* or *Literarhistoriker* or *Philologen*. And one of these, the comedy on Schiller by Karl Weitbrecht, who divided his time about equally between creative and critical works,² calls for a brief discussion.

The comedy plays in the fall of 1782, the first and second acts take place in Oggersheim, the third in Mannheim, the action covers only a few hours, the verse form is an easy sort of doggerel, rhyming mostly in couplets, the historical source down to the minutest detail is Andreas Streicher's *Schillers Flucht von Stuttgart*;³ the plot is as

¹ Cf. *The Poems of Mary Queen of Scots*. Edited by Julian Sharman, London, 1873. There are 28 pages of poems in this unpagged pamphlet. The poems are, of course, in French, one being in both French and Italian. They have been translated into English.

² Karl Weitbrecht (1847–1904) published, between 1870 and 1903, *Gedichte, Novellen, Geschichten, and Dramen*. His most important critical works are his books on Goethe, Schiller, and the German drama. Cf. Adolf Bartels, *Handbuch*, etc., 2d ed., 1909, p. 760. Though Weitbrecht had preached, taught, and poetized constantly before writing his *Doktor Schmidt*, he had then (1896) published but one critical work, *Diesseits von Weimar. Auch ein Buch über Goethe* (1895).

³ The only change that Weitbrecht has made over Andreas Streicher's work is to give the name Kappf to the officer from Württemberg—and this may have been his name. That he should follow Streicher in this comedy is only natural. It is most interesting, however, to see how closely he followed the same monograph in his critical work, *Schiller in seinen Dramen*, 1897. The first chapter, "Der Mann und der Dichter," owes much to Streicher; the chapters on Schiller's first four dramas owe less, and yet quite a little. It should be remembered in this connection that Weitbrecht's work on Schiller's dramas is ranked high.

follows: Michael Derain, a merchant in Oggersheim, is more interested in literature than in groceries; he looks upon his customers as so many intruders who interfere with his reading. One of these, the hostess of the inn "Zum Viehhof," appears and tells him of her two penniless lodgers, Doktor Schmidt (Schiller) and Doktor Wolf (Streicher). From her description, Derain surmises who they are. Luise Stein, the daughter of a merchant in Mannheim, by taking Derain's place behind the counter while Doktor Wolf buys some snuff, uncovers the personality of her customer and his friend. Derain closes the first act with:

Sie sehen mein Herz vor Wollust brennen,
Einen grossen Dichter persönlich zu kennen.

But then, with the mystery cleared up—and Schiller located—Kappf, the officer from Württemberg, appears, looking for the hero of the hour who is wanted in Stuttgart. Tumultuous excitement ensues; no one wishes to see the author of *Die Räuber* placed in jail, even if the landlord has used up all his chalk marking off the debts of his two artist-boarders. Various plans of rescue are suggested, but none appears feasible. The climax is reached. Kappf meets Schiller face to face: "Da wird ein Trauerspiel zum Schwank." It turns out that it had never occurred to Kappf to imprison or otherwise persecute his old friend Schiller. On the contrary, he assures Schiller that though *Fiesco* has not been accepted it soon will be; and, more than that, Schiller has been made theater-poet in Mannheim. The storm subsides at once, though Derain, still frightened over the former prospect of being obliged to pay some money to get his much-revered Schiller out of the country, closes the comedy with the words:

Mein Lebtage will ich nicht mehr darauf brennen,
Einen grossen Dichter persönlich zu kennen.

Now that seems like a thin comedy; there is but little action and that of but little importance—had it happened to an ordinary mortal. It is in such a work, however, that we see that the poet can, on occasion, become available even for dramatic treatment. Weitbrecht has wisely seized upon the one nearly comic incident in Schiller's life and has made it appear in as clear a light as could possibly be

done in a critical study. Despite the fact that it is rhymed fiction, it is more true to history than is at least one scientific work¹ on the same period. The Duke of Württemberg, out of deference for Schiller's parents and out of admiration for Schiller himself, never, it seems now, intended to inflict any grave punishment on his distinguished protégé for his extraordinary behavior. There was, consequently, something comparatively comic about Schiller's flight in the dark and his subsequent hiding.

Also, Weitbrecht has given a thoroughly readable illustration of his own theory of the comedy as set forth in his work on the German drama.² In the sixth chapter, "Tragödie und Komödie," he points out the intimate relation of both, up to a certain point, shows how they both arise and develop as the result of an *Anschauungswiderspruch*, how the heroes of both come in time to a point where they are *fertig*: the hero of tragedy to die; the hero of comedy to live. And in discussing the comedy as such he says: "Erst wenn die Entdeckung des Widerspruchs, das bekannte 'Ja so!' für eine—man muss sagen: gutartige, in gewissem Sinn selbstlose und überhaupt für ästhetische Anschauung—angelegte Seele oder wenigstens Seelenstimmung die Ueberleitung wird zur schauenden Verkehrtheit, dann ist die volle Wirkung des Komischen da, die reine ästhetische Lust an ihm." Just such a situation occurs in the comedy. All imagine that the officer is going to arrest Schiller and all are correspondingly perturbed. But when Kappf throws his arms around Schiller and almost weeps for joy at finding his noble friend, it is then³ that Meyer, the Mannheim *regisseur*, says:

So stehts? Nun, Gott sei Lob und Dank!

It may be charging Weitbrecht with too much faith in the correctness of the technique of his own comedy, but from this it is plain that he had his own "Doktor Schmidt" in mind when he wrote this paragraph. And is there any reason why a theorist should not preach what he practices, or the other way around?

¹ The reference is, of course, to Henry W. Nevinston's warped *Life of Friedrich Schiller*, London, 1889.

² Cf. *Das deutsche Drama. Grundzüge seiner Aesthetik*, 1900, 2d ed., 1903, p. 211. Weitbrecht makes a strong appeal throughout this book for the *Lustspiel* and the *Trauerspiel* as over against the *Schauspiel*, which is so apt to be a mere hybrid.

³ Cf. p. 106, original edition, Stuttgart, Fr. Frommanns Verlag, 1896.

But be the case ever so clear for this comedy on Schiller, it is difficult to see why, except as an inspirer of *Tendenzdramen*, Ulrich von Hutten has so frequently been made the hero of a drama. Ofterdingen has been much poetized because, it seems, of the very vagueness connected with his personality; Luther because of his epoch-making conflict with the established church; Hans Sachs because of that which Goethe¹ and Wagner saw in him. But how can we justify the twenty-five dramas on Hutten that are listed in this article? His life, living when he did and as he did, should lend itself well to epic treatment. But what did these dramatists see in him that is dramatic? That none of his dramatizers plays even a good third rôle in German literature has nothing to do with the question, and that Hutten is entitled to be called a "poet" is beyond all dispute.² But why dramatize this "Knight of the Order of Poets"? His life was replete with episodes as a result of which he had to endure tragic suffering. But how can, in his case, that strategic point for all who invade the dramatic field, *die tragische Schuld*, be discovered? Hutten erred almost daily but was never guilty of a dramatically tragic deed. Also, he never had one red-letter day in his life, one big, decisive conflict, as did Luther at Worms. His life lacked a climax. He fought against the existing order of things with his pen, out of danger from the enemy. Yet there are many dramas on him. To say that his life lends itself well to propagandistic literature is to explain without vindicating. Of the dramas on him, Rudolf von Gottschall's should be one of the best. It seems, however, according to Voigt, that the best, and indeed one of the great dramas of German literature, is the one by Michael Albert. Neither of these is momentarily accessible. For this and other more valid reasons, this important question must, therefore, be left wholly unanswered for the present.

This unanswered question applies, however, not only to Hutten's poetizers, but also to many others. Except in those cases where the poet chooses a theme fortuitously, or where he finds his theme accidentally, the reason why he wrote a drama or a novel on a certain

¹ It is worth noting that Goethe also broke a lance for Ulrich von Hutten in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Part IV, Book 17, and in *West-östlicher Divan*, "Buch des Unmuts."

² Cf. *Ulrich von Hutten*. By David Friedrich Strauss, Bonn, 1877, 567 pages (3d ed.). The first edition appeared in 1858. For a definitive understanding of Hutten's life, the writer has unhesitatingly relied upon this, in his opinion, well-nigh matchless biography.

subject is of the greatest importance: it betrays at once his likes and his dislikes and shows where he is tending. All poets are *Tendenzdichter*; unalloyed objectivity in creative literature is impossible.¹ To say that nothing in *Emilia Galotti* ever happened to Lessing and that this drama is therefore wholly objective is to reason speciously. The German romanticists loathed *Tendenzpoesie* and said they would have none of it; and for that very reason they became the most pronounced sort of *Tendenzdichter*: it was their *Tendenz* to have no *Tendenz*. They made propaganda for literature that would not contain any propagandistic features. Literature, incidentally, is an artistic visualization and faithful reflection of life; and it is therefore not only life but also literature that constantly tends to move in circles, ever to recur, and to abound in reflexes.

Dramas and novels, unless, as is rarely the case, wholly imaginative, generally have three sorts of sources: historical, literary, personal. To take a drama that was something new and original in its day, the historical source of *Götz von Berlichingen* was Götz's *Lebensbeschreibung*; the literary source was Shakespeare's dramas; the personal source, a number of things that had happened to Goethe. Just so it is with the majority of these literary dramas and novels. The historical source, for example, of Albert's *Hutten* was Strauss's biography; the literary source, a long list of literary dramas on Hutten and other poets; the personal source, something that had happened to Albert that made Hutten's case seem to him to resemble his own.

In short, the important feature of any one of these dramas and novels is not so much its style and content as its personal source. Platen's drama on Immermann and Immermann's drama on Platen are both valuable literary documents because of their personal source. And to uncover this in every case would throw bright light on German literature as a whole, for the majority of German writers

¹ Since making this statement the writer chanced to read Otto Ernst's *Buch der Hoffnung*, Hamburg, 1896. In the chapter entitled "Die Scheu vor der Tendenzdichtung" (pp. 37-56), Otto Ernst contends more strongly than the writer that there is no such thing as *tendenzlose Literatur*. And then he says: "Es ist ein Zeichen eines kleinlichen und beschränkten Geistes, ein Buch deshalb zu vermeiden, weil es konservativ, liberal, sozialdemokratisch, orthodox, atheistisch oder sonstwie ist, und solche Zeichen geschehen noch jeden Tag." For those who fear propagandistic literature, this essay can be heartily recommended.

have at some time been connected with the movement, either actively or passively, while with each decade the movement itself grows in momentum. And the number of instances in German literature are many where the poet can be better explained from the literary than from the historical and economic background. A good book could be written on the economic interpretation of German literature; a better one could be written on the literary interpretation of German literature—on German poets and their poetry as viewed by their brothers in Apollo.

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